研究ノート

# Influential English Translations of the Bible in the Sixteenth Century

Ayumi HIRA

## 1. Introduction

This paper aims to provide an overview of the history of English Bibles as part of a preliminary study of the linguistic impact of the Geneva Bible during the reign of Elizabeth I (1533-1603; Queen of England and Ireland 1558-1603). The Christian Bible consists of the Old Testament, written primarily in Hebrew, and the New Testament, written in Greek. The first complete English translation of the Bible appeared in the late fourteenth century, affecting other renderings in the following centuries (See 2.2.1). This paper focuses on the influential English translations of the Bible in the sixteenth century, which is the first active period of Bible translation in the context of the English Reformation: Tyndale's Translation (1525), Joye's Translation, Coverdale's Bible (1535, 1537), Matthew's Bible (1537), the Great Bible (1539, 1540), the Geneva Bible (1560), and the Bishops'Bible (1568)[1].

## 2. History of the English Language

Before discussing each English Bible, it would be of help to overview the history of the English Language focusing on historical events and attitudes towards English rather than the development of English itself. In addition, the first influential English Bible, Wycliffe Bible, will be referred to.

### 2.1 Old English Period (450-1100)

The history of English falls into three periods: the Old English period (450-1100), the Middle English period (1100-1500), and the Modern English period (1500-1900). The remarkable events during the period of Old English were the settlement of the Germanic tribes such as the Angles, Saxons and Jutes in the middle of the fifth century, Christianization in the seventh century, and the invasions by Vikings, the Danes, dating back to the eighth century (Nakao, 2008)[2]. Before the Anglo-Saxon settlers became dominant in England, it is most likely that the earliest inhabitants of Britain were the Celts from Europe in the sixth to fifth century BC. Then, the Roman invasion in 55 BC and 54 BC, known as part of the Gallic Wars waged by Julius Caesar (100 BC-44 BC) began, and the occupation lasted roughly for 400 years between 55 BC and AD 410. As Old English is also called Anglo-Saxon, it was basically a language of Germanic tribes, still maintaining basic words and grammar in English today, with the influence of Latin, Celtic languages, and Old Norse[3]. After 250 brutal years of destruction and violence, Cnut the Great (c. 995-1035), Danish himself, ruled England rather peacefully from 1016 to 1035 (Nakao, 2008).

### 2.2 Middle English Period (1100-1500)

The historic turning point in English history between the Old English period and the Middle English period was the Norman Conquest of England. In 1066, Duke William II of Normandy, France, and his military invaded and began their rule of England, which transformed English society from Germanic to Romantic with the introduction of feudalism. As one of the major impacts of the conquest, Anglo-Norman French, a variety of northern French dialects, became the official language

of upper classes for the affairs of royal court, government and education. In those days, English was used among common people, though most of them were illiterate, and Latin was a written language for scholars and clergy in Church. Hence, a triplex structure of language existed in England[4].

In 1204, John (King of England 1199-1216), originally from the lands of Anjou in France, lost the territory of Normandy and his other French possessions to King Philip II of France, after which some Normans left for France and others remained in England[5]. This is thought to have created awareness of English among Normans in England. The Hundred Years' War between the House of Plantagenet in England and the House of Valois in France from 1337 to 1453 also heightened the growing public sentiment towards the French language as the enemy's language (See 2.3). This probably gave impetus to ideas of French and English nationalism. Then, a parliament was conducted with an opening speech in English after the Pleading in English Act 1362 was issued at the threshold of the complaint that common people would not understand French in court, known as "Law French" (Jespersen, 1982). This means that English officially replaced French as an official language of England while English was still immature in terms of vocabulary. Therefore, English had to borrow French and Latin political and legal terminology thereafter.

Prior to the fourteenth century, there were five regional dialects, but no common language of both spoken and written English (Nakao, 2008). From the fourteenth century, a migration flow from the East Midlands to London accelerated, and a new London dialect developed based on the dialects of the East Midlands and some other regions. In addition, the disappearance of case endings led to fixed word order, which contributed to simplification of the English language at the grammatical level during this period. The *Canterbury Tales* written by Geoffrey Chaucer (c. 1343-1400), known as the "Father of English Poetry", is one of the representative works composed in Middle English. He left works written in Middle English, a language for common people, neither in French for upper classes nor Latin in Church. The influence of the Renaissance in Europe had already come to England, albeit only slightly through Italy and France in the fourteenth century. It is assumed that Chaucer was influenced by Dante Alighieri (1265-1321), the greatest Italian poet, who defended use of vernacular tongues instead of Latin in literary forms as seen in his masterpiece, the *Divine Comedy*. In his definition of the 'vernacular', one of the qualities was 'illustrious', that meant a speech "which belongs to all the towns in Italy but does not appear to belong to any one of them" (Habib, 2007, p. 190). In the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Chancery Standard of written English based on the East Midlands-influenced London dialect developed, accompanied with the introduction of printing press by William Caxton (See 2.3).

### 2.2.1 Wycliffe Bible (1380)

During the Middle English period, the first complete English Bible was produced by John Wycliffe (c. 1330-84). He was an influential theologian and religious reformer, known as the "Morning Star of the Reformation." Because of his criticism of worldly corruption of prelates in Church, which was governed by the Pope from Rome and had privileged status in England, Wycliffe was displaced from any public position. Wycliffe advocated that Christians should follow the Bible as the main authority of Christian faith, suggesting the necessity of easy access to a vernacular Bible. This also encouraged individual interpretations of the Bible rather than Church interpretations.

Wycliffe commenced a rendering of the Bible from the Vulgate into Middle English. The Vulgate

is a Latin translation of the New and Old Testaments, which is assumed to be the work of St. Jerome (c. 342-420). The Vulgate was the only authorized version of the Christian Bible in the West for more than a thousand years. Wycliffe completed the translation of the New Testament in 1380, and further the whole Bible including the Old Testament in 1382 (Terasawa, et al., 1975). Yet, it remains unknown how much of the translation he did himself. In fact, it is thought that most of the Old Testament was translated by Nicholas of Hereford (unknown-1420), a friend of Wycliffe (Gilmore, 2000).

Wycliffe organised itinerant preachers, the Lollards, which disseminated his teachings by reading the English Bible aloud to common people surreptitiously in barns, caves and underground, which was perceived as a seditious threat to church authorities (George, 2003). The movement led by Wycliffe is considered as the precursor of the Protestant Reformation, influencing the religious thought of Jan Hus (c. 1369-1415) in Bohemia, whose teachings, in turn, had a significant influence on Martin Luther (1483-1546).

Being translated literally, the first version was laborious and unclear while being simple and masculine. After the death of Wycliffe, John Purvey (1353-1428), secretary to Wycliffe, revised the first edition from 1388 to 1395, aiming to produce an idiomatic translation (Gilmore, 2000). However, under the direction of Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury and opponent of the Lollards, the Oxford Constitutions of 1408 was passed to outlaw rendering the Bible into English, reading, selling and owning any part of English Bible. The law remained in effect until Henry VIII licensed to publish Coverdale's Bible and Matthew's Bible in 1537 (See 3. 3 & 3. 4). Eventually, Nicholas was excommunicated, Purvey was committed to prison, Lollard followers were seized, and copies of Wycliffe Bible were confiscated. Even so, approximately 150 copies still exist, which attests to the impact of this version on the following English Bibles as well as literature (Gilmore, 2000)[6]. To sum up, Wycliffe Bible was the first complete English Bible as well as the most influential English Bible transcribed in handwriting, preceding the introduction of printing press in England.

### 2．3 In the Sixteenth Century

The Middle English period is followed by the Early Modern English period (1500-1700), which coincides with the Tudor dynasty (1485-1603). This includes the Elizabethan Era (1558-1603), referred to as the "Golden Age", the height of the English Renaissance. After the Hundred Years' War (See 2. 2), there was the Wars of the Roses, which was an English civil war between the two royal houses, the Red Rose of Lancaster and the White Rose of York. The Wars of the Roses began in 1455 and lasted until the death of Richard III (reigned 1483-1485), Yorkist King, at the Battle of Bosworth in 1485. Then, Henry VII (reigned 1485-1509), Lancastrian King, established the Tudor dynasty, which imposed a greater degree of central authority on the nation. The historically significant events in the sixteenth century were those of the Protestant Reformation, initiated under Henry VIII (reigned 1509-1547), which severed religious and political relations with the Roman Catholic Church.

In the late fifteenth century, William Caxton (c. 1422-91) introduced the craft of printing to England from Germany, and commenced a printing business in Westminster in 1476[7]. This led to the mass reproduction of books that were cheaper and more readily available than manuscripts, which further contributed to easy access to information and growing literacy among common people[8]. During his time, numerous regional dialects and styles existed in England, and thus, printing diffusion led to gradual standardization of written English. This adopted the speech of London, which was the

center of government, the judiciary and business[9]. Renaissance influence from the Continent beginning in the late fourteenth century reached England on a full scale in the 1480s. Then, its peak was during the reign of Elizabeth I with great figures such as Sir Thomas More (1478-1535), William Shakespeare (1564-1616) and Christopher Marlowe (1564-93). The revival of classical scholarship resulted in a huge influx of Latinate and Greek loanwords into English. In the early sixteenth century, English was criticized for its inferiority in contrast to Latin as the international language of learning and the Church. Some scholars and writers, therefore, adopted Latin words excessively, whereas there was a criticism that such terms were too difficult for unscholarly people to understand. Hence, Latinate loans to be frequently used by pedantic writers were satirically called "inkhorn terms", about half of which have not survived in English today[10].

In the late sixteenth century, a positive shift in attitudes towards English appeared among scholars and educationists[11]. More precisely, they reflected the excessive emphasis on classical languages such as Latin and Greek, and recognized potentials in English such as simple grammar and productivity of word formation. This movement promoted stabilizing the language in terms of spelling and grammar, which led to a remarkable rise of confidence in the English language, and further was strengthened by the graceful prose of prominent writers and translations of the Bible[12].

## 3. English Bibles in the Sixteenth Century

The English Bibles discussed below appeared during the reigns of four monarchs in the sixteenth century: Henry VIII (reigned 1509-1547), Edward VI (son of Henry VIII, reigned 1547-1553), Mary I (Henry VIII's first daughter, reigned 1553-1558), and Elizabeth I (Henry VIII's second daughter, reigned 1558-1603). England was a Catholic country, at least officially, until the Protestant Reformation reached England. This change was triggered by Henry VIII's insistence on divorcing (technically speaking an annulment of marriage) his first wife, Catherine of Aragon, against the protestations of the Pope[13]. Then, through the Act of Supremacy of 1534, Henry VIII declared himself the only "Supreme Head of the Church of England", which led to his excommunication from the Roman Catholic Church. It should be noted that separating from the Roman Catholic Church did not always mean non-conformance to Catholic doctrines[14].

### 3.1 Tyndale's Translation (1525)

William Tyndale (c. 1494-1536), a theologian and Protestant reformer, is well known for his translation of the first printed New Testament in English, which was influenced by the Greek New Testament edited by Desiderius Erasmus, and referred to the Latin Vulgate and Luther's German New Testament[15, 16]. In Tyndale's time, the only authorized version of the Bible was the Latin Vulgate, and Wycliffe Bible had already been too old-fashioned in terms of English language itself. Tyndale risked his life to produce the New Testament in a vernacular language intelligible even to uneducated laity, by directly employing Greek texts. Unfortunately, he failed to receive patronage to fulfill his ambition of rendering the scripture from Bishop Cuthbert Tunstall, a Greek scholar, who feared being deemed traitorous. Due to the Oxford Constitutions of 1408 (See 2. 2. 1), it was forbidden to translate the Bible into English to prevent the rise of Lutheranism, so he fled to Europe with the assistance of Sir Humphrey Monmouth, a London merchant, in 1524. In 1525, Tyndale's Translation was first printed in Worms, Germany, as the first English translation of the New Testament with the assistance of William Roy, an Observant friar, and George Joye (See 3. 2). Before this

printing, an attempt was made to print this edition in Cologne, yet it was interrupted by the Church authorities because of its anti-Lutheranism. In 1526, Tyndale's New Testament started to be smuggled and read behind closed doors in England[17]. Even though thousands of copies were printed in Worms and Antwerp, there are only three existing copies today, as Bishop Tunstall banned its sale and had the copies smuggled into England burned (Terasawa, et al., 1975 ; Gilmore, 2000). Notably, Henry VIII set up a commission of inquiry into the need for an English Bible in 1530, and the commission reported in favor of an official translation. In those days, Henry VIII was anti-Lutheran, while he was excommunicated by the Roman Catholic Church in 1534 and became the "Supreme Head of the Church of England." In 1535, Tyndale was seized in Antwerp, and then confined in the castle of Vilvoorde, in a suburb of Brussels, under the supervision of Roman Emperor Charles V. Henry VIII and Thomas Cromwell, his Chief Minister, demanded Tyndale's release under unfavorable conditions because Charles V was a nephew of Henry VIII's just divorced-queen, Catherine of Aragon. Eventually, he was executed by strangulation and burned at the stake for heresy in Vilvoorde in 1536, reportedly screaming his final words : "Lord, open the King of England's eyes" (Teems, 2012).

Tyndale translated Luther's marginal notes against the Pope's wishes, and replaced some of the words and phrases with ones unrelated to the Church: 'senior' and 'elder' with 'priest', 'love' with 'charity', and more controversially, 'congregation' with 'church' (Terasawa, et al., 1975). Tyndale's original motivation to translate the New Testament was the fact that it was not easy for common people and even clergymen to read, so his translation is characterised by colloquialism. In addition, he purposely avoided using difficult words or phrases as much as possible and coined simple ones with his gifted linguistic skills[18].

Within four years of the death of Tyndale, the three important English translations of the Bible inspired by Tyndale's rendering were published in England : Coverdale's Bible (1535, 1537), Matthew's Bible (1537), and the Great Bible (1539, 1540). The details of each translation follow in the sections below after the description of Joy's Translation.

### 3．2 Joye's Translation

George Joye (c. 1490-1553) was the first translator of several Books of the Old Testament, such as the Psalms (1530, 1534), Isaiah (1531) and Jeremiah (1534) from the Latin Vulgate (Bieringer, et al., 2002). During his studies in Cambridge, Joye seems to have interacted with some of the figures of the English Reformation in the White Horse Tavern, and became sympathetic to Lutheran ideas[19, 20]. In 1527, after being accused of having heretical ideas, Joye fled to Germany, where he translated and published the biblical books, and also worked for William Tyndale as a proofreader on his revision of the New Testament. Reflecting the increase in demand for Tyndale's New Testament, some of the pirated versions with mis-translated alterations were anonymously produced by Joye without consulting Tyndale. In the prologue to his revised version of the New Testament in 1534, Tyndale denounced Joye's editorial work (Gilmore, 2000).

Joye's translation is characterized by exaggerated redundant wording while it shows the effective use of practical visualization, which appeared in the subsequent translations. For example, the first verse of the Psalm 23 : 1 was translated as "The Lord is my pastor and feeder", in contrast to "The Lord rules me" in the Latin Vulgate. In addition, his translation of the Psalm 81 : 5, "Thou shalt not need to be afraid of night buggs", seems to have been copied in Coverdale's Bible, commonly called the Bug Bible (See 3. 3) [21].

### 3．3　Coverdale's Bible（1535, 1537）

Miles Coverdale（1488-1568）is well known for his English translation of the New and Old Testaments, which became the first complete printed translation of the Bible in the English language. After his studies in Cambridge, Coverdale became an abbey with the Augustinian Friars in Cambridge in 1514. Due to the religious reform in England, he fled to Antwerp, where he assisted William Tyndale in translating the Bible until Tyndale was arrested. In 1535, he returned to England and gained the favor of Anne Boleyn, Henry VIII's second queen, and Thomas Cromwell, who protected Coverdale from the anti-Lutherans. Meanwhile, in 1534, the Canterbury Convocation petitioned Henry VIII for the English translation of the Bible[22]. However, the attempt to amend Tyndale's New Testament by bishops at the request of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, had failed（O'Day, 2010）. Cromwell and Cranmer provided economic assistance to complete a new translation. Employing source texts such as Tyndale's New Testament, the Old Testament Books partly from Tyndale's Translation, the Latin Vulgate, Pagninus's Latin translation of the Hebrew, Luther's German version and the Swiss-German Zürich Bible, Coverdale completed his translation in Antwerp and published it in 1535[23]. Then, Coverdale's Bible excluded Tyndale's contentious footnotes and included a gracious dedication to Henry VIII, which may explain why it received consent to be published. The 1537 edition gained a royal license, and therefore became the first officially approved English translation of the Bible with Matthew's Bible（See 3. 4）. Finally, common people in England were allowed to read the Bible in their own tongue, which they had hungered and thirsted for over the centuries. In other words, Tyndale's last words of prayer, "Lord, open the King of England's eyes", were granted just a year after Tyndale's death as a martyr. Coverdale's Bible was ordered to be placed in all churches across England, and chained to the pulpits to deter theft, so that everyone would have free access to the Bible.

After Anne Boleyn was beheaded in the Tower of London in 1536 and Cromwell was displaced from his position, Coverdale fled back to the Continent in 1540 and stayed there until the death of Henry VIII. In 1547, he returned to England after Edward VI ascended the throne at age nine, and became Bishop of Exeter in 1551. During these two years, he translated some parts of the Bible and engaged in editing the second edition of the Great Bible（See 3. 5）. In 1553, Edward VI died at age 15, and then Mary I, daughter of Henry VIII and his first wife Catherine of Aragon, proclaimed herself queen, though Edward VI would not set his half sister on the throne due to religious issues. After the Protestant reign of Edward VI, Mary I restored Catholicism, which forced Coverdale to flee to Europe and settle in Geneva, where he interacted with Protestant exiles at work on the Geneva Bible（See 3. 6）. In 1559, Coverdale returned to England during the reign of Elizabeth I.

Coverdale was an editor, rather than translator, due to lack of linguistic skills. His edition is characterized by a graceful musical feminine tone. As the first attempt ever at Christian scriptures in English, each chapter was accompanied with summary and marginal notes. In addition, he coined some words influenced by German such as 'unoutspeakble' and 'rightousnessmaking', and replaced some Latin words with Anglo-Saxon English : for example, 'chosen' with 'elect', and 'heavenly' with 'celestial'（Terasawa, et al., 1975）. As for the controversial rendering by Tyndale, Coverdale continued to use words such as 'love' and 'congregation' instead of 'charity' and 'church .' What was remarkable, however, was that Coverdale was involved in the important English Bibles over two decades : he was partly responsible

for Matthew's Bible, extensively involved with editing and producing the Great Bible, and part of the group of English exiles who produced the Geneva Bible.

### 3．4 Matthew's Bible（1537）

As well as the second edition of Coverdale's Bible, Matthew's Bible was the first to be approved officially by Henry VIII. It is generally thought that John Rogers（c. 1500-55）, a friend and apprentice of William Tyndale, used the pseudonym "Thomas Matthew" to publish the English Bible, as rendering the Bible into English was forbidden at that time. In 1525, he moved to Antwerp, where he became a priest for the Merchant Adventurers, and worked for Tyndale[24]. This edition combined Tyndale's New Testament, some parts from Tyndale's unfinished Old Testament, and the rest from Coverdale's Bible. Hence, it may be more appropriate to say that Matthew was an editor rather than a translator. This edition was printed in Antwerp, and published in London. Through Archbishop Cranmer's insistence, the dedication to Henry VIII,"with the King's most gracious license", was cited in the exordium. Then the tide suddenly changed. In 1537, Matthew's Bible and Coverdale's Bible（2nd ed.） were both granted official status as English Bibles. Consequently, each church was required to purchase a copy and read a chapter in English every day.

Matthew's Bible and Coverdale's Bible were both primarily based on Tyndale's Translation, and particularly Matthew's Bible was theoretically more controversial because of the strong influence of Lutheranism. Archbishop Cromwell realized the need for a revised edition of Matthew's Bible, and therefore, he appointed William Coverdale to revise it, later called the Great Bible. Archbishop Thomas Cranmer and Thomas Cromwell had greatly contributed to the publication of the English Bibles approved by the king. Eventually, however, both of them were executed, and Rogers became the first martyr executed by burning as part of the Marian Persecutions[25].

### 3．5 The Great Bible（1539, 1540）

Coverdale's Bible and Matthew's Bible were licensed for printing by Henry VIII, yet neither was fully accepted by the Church. The former lacked briefness and was rather decorative and redundant, which tended to deviate from the original Hebrew and Greek texts. The latter was almost the same as Tyndale's Bible and strongly influenced by Lutheranism. It is a wonder that this edition was approved by Henry VIII. The two quasi-official English Bibles did not satisfy Church authorities nor William Cromwell, and therefore, he appointed Miles Coverdale as a translator as well as editor for an authorized version. Coverdale mainly employed Tyndale's New Testament, and Matthew's Bible in translating the Old Testament. In 1538, the printing was begun by a typesetting shop in Paris, which was famous for its advanced printing, by permission of Francis I of France. The French King, however, reversed his stance, and arrested those involved and seized the printed copies. Coverdale and his associates escaped to England, yet unfortunately, most of the forfeits were not returned from France. Eventually, the first edition was published in 1539, and named the Great Bible as the page size was bigger than the former published English Bibles[26]. Cromwell was entrusted with full authority over the publication of the Great Bible, so the first edition was generally called Cromwell's Bible.

In 1540, the second edition was produced on the basis of the Hebrew original and Erasmus's Latin Bible, including a statement, "the Bible appointed to the use of churches." Its foreword was written by Archbishop Cranmer, so this edition was also called Cranmer's Bible. In the same year, every church was required to have a copy of the Great Bible at

the behest of Henry VIII. In the church, the Bible was chained to the lectern, which enabled each individual to have access to the Bible in their vernacular tongue, while it was not allowed to be read aloud in public. Within several years of Tyndale's death, English Bibles, influenced primarily by his translation, became widely used throughout the country.

In 1542, the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury decided to make a conservative revision of the Great Bible directly and completely based on the Latin Vulgate. It was also proposed that Latin Church terminologies be used (Bruce, 1978). Then, Archbishop Cranmer appointed bishops to examine the New Testament while Henry VIII handed the task to the universities. In 1543, the Act for the Advancement of True Religion was passed by Parliament to restrict the reading of the Bible to clergies, noblemen, the gentry and richer merchants, while lower classes and women were forbidden to read in public and even from private reading. In 1546, it was forbidden to possess Tyndale's Translation as well as Coverdale's Bible, and a massive biblioclasm was conducted. Eventually, reading and discussing the Bible in public was banned, and lower classes were not allowed to read it even for their personal use.

After Edward VI succeeded Henry VIII, the 1543 Act was repealed, and all the churches were required to place an English Bible by law again. During the reign of Edward VI, no new English translations were produced, yet it was encouraged to print English Bibles such as Tyndale's Translation, Coverdale's Bible and the Great Bible (Gilmore, 2000). Significantly, church services started to be conducted in English, and the Psalter in the Old Testament and the Bible as a whole were read through officially for a month and a year respectively, which greatly contributed to the diffusion of the Bible among common people in England.

### 3．6　The Geneva Bible (1560)

Mary I was Queen of England and Ireland for five years after Edward VI's death in 1553, and attempted to restore Roman Catholicism in England. She is infamous for the Marian Persecutions (1555-1558), which executed more than 400 religious dissenters, including Archbishop Thomas Cranmer and John Rogers (Niimi, 1977). Her executions of Protestants drove numerous English scholars and clergymen to Germany and Switzerland. The English Puritans influenced by Calvinism exiled from England to Geneva, Switzerland, which was the center of the Protestant Reformation led by Jean Calvin (1509-64), prominent French theologian and pastor. Geneva was a free city, which allowed its citizens to practice either Catholicism or Protestantism. Calvin supported English exiles from the Catholic persecutions of Mary I in Geneva, and the English-speaking community grew there significantly. Theodore Beza (1519-1605) was a French theologian and the chair of theology at the Genevan Academy in succession to Calvin (Daniell, 2003). He was regarded as one of the most influential biblical scholars during the religious reform. French scholars engaged in producing the French Bible, which encouraged English exiles to translate the Bible into their vernacular tongue.

In 1557, William Whittingham (c. 1524-79) translated the New Testament into English based on Tyndale's New Testament with reference to Beza's Latin New Testament (1556), and published it in Geneva. Whittingham was the pastor of the English congregation, and married to Jean Calvin's sister-in-law. In England, shortly after Elizabeth I ascended the throne in 1558, the Act of Uniformity of 1559 was passed, requiring the use of the Protestant Book of Common Prayer in church services. Then, the Act of Supremacy of 1559 required everyone to swear allegiance to Queen Elizabeth as the "Supreme Governor of the Church of England", which

meant a religious separation between the Roman Catholic Church and England again. Furthermore, the heresy laws under Mary I were abolished.

In 1560, a group of Calvinistic scholars in exile produced the whole Geneva Bible and the Apocrypha as a separate section, which was spearheaded by William Whittingham and assisted by other exiles such as Anthony Gilby, who led the work on the Old Testament, Miles Coverdale, Thomas Sampson and John Knox[27]. The 1557 New Testament was revised with more attention to Beza's Latin version. On the other hand, the Old Testament was a revision of the Great Bible (1550), with reference to the Latin Bible of Sanctus Pagninus, the Hebrew-Latin Bible of Sebastian Münster, the Latin versions of the Hebraist Leo Juda and Sebastian Castellio, Pierre Robert Olivetan's French Bible, and other resources (Terasawa, et al., 1975). It should be noted that the Genevan translators rendered the Old Testament directly from the original Hebrew into English for the first time, except that William Tyndale managed to translate some Books of the Old Testament from the Hebrew text into English before he died. Its first edition was published in Geneva, and first printed in England in 1576 by John Bodley, who was an English merchant and obtained the exclusive right from Elizabeth I to print the Bible for seven years[28]. This edition was dedicated to Elizabeth I, yet she did not approve it as an authorized Bible for use in churches due to its radical Calvinist and Puritan marginal notes. However, she granted an implicit approval for personal use of the Bible possibly so as to avoid excessive stimulation of Protestants. In 1563, the Thirty-nine Articles were passed, defining the doctrines of the Church of England, and its establishment was declared. At the request of Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, bishops and scholars produced the Bishops' Bible, which was appointed as an official Bible by the Church of England in 1568, but not by Elizabeth I (See 3. 7). Then, James I (King of England and Ireland 1603-1625 ; King of Scotland as James VI 1567-1625) commissioned the Authorized Version, commonly known as King James Version, which did not include any notes or annotations undermining the authority of monarchy.

The Geneva Bible was highly acclaimed because of its faithful translation of the original texts. In contrast to the previous editions of the Bible, except Tyndale's Translation, the Geneva Bible was designed for individual use but not as a church bible to the pulpit like the Great Bible in the same era. Significantly, the Geneva Bible was printed in a portable quarto size (218 mm by 139 mm), which was almost half of the Great Bible (420 mm by 280 mm), so it became more affordable. Other features in format included that the Bible was printed in plain Roman type rather than black-letter "Gothic" for good legibility, and words not in the original texts but added for clarity were italicized. In addition, the Geneva Bible was a translation from the original source languages in straightforward contemporary language, rather than in a ritualistic manner full of jargon. Furthermore, as study aids, it contained marginal notes for common people to interpret the Christian scriptures better, contemporary chapter and verse divisions which allowed cross-referencing of passages, introductions to each Book, woodcut illustrations, maps and indexes. With these several features, the Geneva Bible was considered as the first English "Study Bible." The Great Bible is also known as Shakespeare's Bible. This edition was a superb translation of the best Protestant scholars of the era, and hence, it became popular among great literary figures such as William Shakespeare, John Milton and John Bunyan[29].

To sum up, the Geneva Bible achieved immediate and long-enduring popularity as the Bible for personal use, especially among Puritans, from the second half of the sixteenth century to the early

seventeenth century. In fact, over 140 editions were produced within England by 1644 (Daniell, 2003)[30]. The Geneva Bible did not become an authorized Bible, yet greatly influenced on the Authorized Version of 1611, which still remains the most widely published text in the English language[31].

### 3．7 The Bishops' Bible (1568)

The Geneva Bible had an enormous popularity in private, yet its Calvinism in the marginal notes offended bishops of the Church of England. However, the Great Bible was markedly inferior to the Geneva Bible linguistically, and therefore, Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, ordered bishops to amend the Great Bible (Terasawa, et al., 1975). For the amendment of the Great Bible, Parker himself proactively engaged in the project for four years. This edition was a combination of the Geneva Bible and the Great Bible. The Canterbury Convocation ordered archbishops and bishops to place the Bible in homes, cathedrals and churches. However, Elizabeth I did not give official approval to the Bishops' Bible, and the popularity of the Geneva Bible continued as a people's Bible.

## 4．Conclusion

To summarize, while English was gaining more and more prestige, the Latin Vulgate was still the only authoritative Bible used in churches, and hence biblical translation was not favorably accepted by the Church authorities. Under such conditions, however, Christian scriptures were translated from original languages, and printed and published in English, so that God's word could become available to everyone (See Appendix). Significantly, the Geneva Bible attained immense popularity in personal use, whereas it could not gain royal and ecclesiastical authorization. Future study will be focused on the Geneva Bible, one of the most circulated books during Elizabeth I's reign, to consider the linguistic features behind its popularity and its impact on an increase in literacy.

## Notes

1．In this paper, a set of the Old and New Testaments is called 'Bible' while an incomplete translation of either the Old Testament or the New Testament is called 'translation' like Tyndale's Translation for clarification.

2．The word "England" derived from the Old English "Engla land" for literally "land of the Angles" (OED).

3．Old Norse is a North Germanic language, which was spoken in Scandinavia, Jutland and Iceland from the eighth century to the fourteenth century (Jespersen, 1982).

4．Here are the relevant examples: it is generally thought that since the English underclass raised livestock for the Norman upper class, the words for domestic animals are English, such as 'ox', 'cow' and 'calf', while the words for the meats for cooking derived from French, such as 'beef' and 'veal' (Jespersen, 1982).

5．King John, also known as John Lackland, was forced to sign the Magna Carta by his rebel barons in 1215.

6．In fact, the impact of Wycliffe Bible has been seen in the medieval literature such as the *Canterbury Tales*: "I smell a Loller in the wind" (Terasawa, et al., 1975, p.14).

7．Prior to printing by William Caxton in England, Johannes Gutenberg (c. 1400-68) had invented a printing press in Mainz, Germany, in 1450s. He printed several texts including St. Jerome's Latin Vulgate version, generally called the Gutenberg Bible, or also known as the 42-line Bible and the Mazarin Bible. This incunabula is acknowledged as the first major book printed with a printing press in Europe. Meanwhile, it is known that Caxton printed a version of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. (Gilmore, 2000).

8．According to the estimate by a social historian, about 10 percent of the male and one percent of the female could both read and write in the 1500s. Then, the rate of full literacy increased to 30 percent of the male population in the entire country, and 30 percent in London by 1640. The literacy rate among

women was lower than that among men due to limited educational opportunities (Nevalainen, 2006).

9. English spelling was becoming fixed systematically while a series of great changes in the pronunciation of vowel sounds such as [a:] to [ei], the so-called "Great Vowel Shift", occurred in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This resulted in a further widening of the gap between spelling and pronunciation.
10. Inkhorn terms in common today : capacity, celebrate, describe, education, industrial, etc. (Brinton & Arnovick, 2006).
11. Richard Mulcaster (c. 1530-1611) was an English schoolmaster, who attempted to advocate the high potential of the English language to be more used and respected in his *Elementarie* (1582).
12. The first English grammar, William Bullokar's *Pamphlet for Grammar*, was published in 1586. The first single-language English dictionary, Robert Cawdrey's *Table Alphabeticall*, was published in 1604.
13. Henry VIII was forced to wed Catherine of Aragon, widow of his elder brother, even though canon law prohibited men from marrying their brother's widow. When he hoped to marry Anne Boleyn, expected to conceive his heir to the throne, Pope Clement VII refused to annul his marriage as it was under a papal dispensation. More importantly, Catherine was an aunt of Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor.
14. Henry VIII declared that the Church of England would retain Catholic doctrines in the Six Articles of 1539. Under the reign of Edward VI, the Book of Common Prayer was established as the only forms of worship so as to introduce Protestant practice into England by the Acts of Uniformity of 1548 and 1549.
15. Desiderius Erasmus (c. 1469-1536) was a Dutch theologian who emphasized the importance of an individual relationship with God without being mediated or controlled by the Church hierarchy. He revised the original Greek New Testament as he found several mistakes in the Latin Vulgate.
16. Martin Luther translated the New Testament from Erasmus's Greek New Testament to German while being sheltered at Wartburg Castle.
17. In 1530, William Tyndale opposed the divorce between Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon in favor of Anne Boleyn. A copy of his English translation of the New Testament was dedicated to Anne Boleyn, which belonged to the British Library.
18. Tyndale was probably fluent in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, German, French, Italian and Spanish.
19. Students in Cambridge keenly read and gathered to discuss Luther's reform movement while Oxford adopted a stance of anti-Lutheranism at that time (Onozawa, 2002).
20. The White Horse Tavern was a circle of advanced thinkers, probably including Bible translators such as William Tyndale, Miles Coverdale and John Rogers.
21. Here, a'bugge'means a'ghost', possibly originated from Welsh'bwg' (Gilmore, 2002, p. 105).
22. In 1534, Henry VIII defied the Roman Catholic Church, and the Act of Supremacy of 1534 declared that the King was the only "Supreme Head of the Church of England."
23. Coverdale's Psalms is still used in the Anglican Book of Common Prayer.
24. The Merchant Adventures was a business association of English merchants, which was chartered in Antwerp in the beginning of fifteenth century and engaged in the export of woolen cloth, which enabled the English woolen industry to grow internationally.
25. Mary I conducted vigorous persecution of Protestants, which unpleasantly nicknamed her "Bloody Mary."
26. At the request of Cromwell's Second Injunctions that "a Bible of the largest volume" in English be set in all churches.
27. John Knox (c. 1505-72), a Scottish theologian and religious reformer, was regarded as the founder of the Presbyterian form of Calvinism in Scotland. Incidentally, the Geneva Bible became the first official English Bible in Scotland in 1579.
28. John Bodley's son, Sir. Thomas Bodley, was the founder of the Bodleian Libraries of the University of Oxford.
29. William Shakespeare frequently quoted from the Geneva Bible in his works after 1595 (Niimi, 1977).
30. During the period from 1560 to 1611, significantly the Geneva Bible went through more than 120 editions, while seven editions of the Great Bible appeared in the same time period. In addition, twenty editions of the Bishops' Bible were produced from 1568 to 1606 (Niimi, 1977).
31. The Authorized Version consists of Wycliffe Bible (4%), Tyndale's Translation including Matthew's Bible (18%), Coverdale's Bible including the Great

Bible (13%), the Geneva Bible (19%), the Bishops' Bible (4%), new translation for the Authorized Version (39%), and others (3%) (Terasawa, 1975, p. 44).

## References


Bieringer, R., Koperski, V. & Lataire, B. (Eds.). (2002). *Resurrection in the New Testament : Festschrift J. Lambrecht.* Belgium : Leuven University Press.

Brinton, L. J. & Arnovick L. K. (2006). *The English Language : A Linguistic History.* UK : Oxford University Press.

Bruce, F. F. (1978). *The History of the Bible in English : From the Earliest Versions to Today.* UK : Oxford University Press.

Daniell, D. (2003). *The Bible in English : Its History And Influence* (1st ed.). New Haven and London : Yale University Press.

George, T. (2003). *Theology of the Reformers.* US : Broadman & Holman Publishing Group.

Gilmore, A. (2000). *A Dictionary of the English Bible and Its Origins.* UK : Sheffield Academic Press.

Habib, M. A. R. (2007). *A History of Literary Criticism and Theory : From Plato to the Present.* UK : Wiley-Blackwell.

Jespersen, O. (1982). *Growth and Structure of the English Language* (10th ed.). Chicago : University of Chicago.

Nakao, T. (2008). *The History of the English Language* [in Japanese]. Tokyo : Kodansha.

Nevalainen, T. (2006). *An Introduction to Early Modern English.* Edinburgh : Edinburgh University Press.

Niimi, H. (1977). *The Geneva Bible : Commentary* [in Japanese]. Tokyo : Kodansha.

O'Day, R. (2010). *The Routledge Companion to the Tudor Age.* UK : Routledge.

Onozawa, Y. (2002). The History of English Bible Translations (c. 1000-1526) [in Japanese]. *Journal of Niijima Gakuen Junior College*, 22, 89-97.

Simpson, J. A. & Weiner, E. S. C. (Eds.). (2009). *The Oxford English Dictionary* (2nd ed.). UK : Oxford University Press (CD-ROM 4.0 Version). [OED].

Teems, D. (2012). *Tyndale : The Man Who Gave God An English Voice.* US : Thomas Nelson.

Terasawa, Y., Saotome, T., Funato, H. & Tsuru, N. (1975). *English Bibles* [in Japanese]. Tokyo : Fuzambo.


## Appendix

The Year of Publication and Source Texts of Each English Bible, Authorized Bibles at Churches, and Monarchs' Attitudes towards English Bibles

Influential English Translations of the Bible in the Sixteenth Century

| Year | Name of English Bibles | The Old Testament (OT) | The New Testament (NT) | Autholized Bible | Monarchs' Attitudes toward English Bibles |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1380 | Wycliffe Bible | The Latin Vulgate (The Latin Vulgate was translated from original languages) | | The Latin Vulgate | The Oxford Constitutions of 1408, forbitting to translate the Bible into English |
| ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | | | |
| | | (Introduction of Printing Press into England) | | | |
| 1525 | Tyndale's Translation | Genesis through 2 Chronicles and the Book of Jonah from the original Hebrew | Erasmus's Greek NT, The Latin Vulgate, Luther's German NT | | |
| | Joye's Translation | The Latin Vulgate | | | |
| 1535 | Coverdale's Bible (1st ed.) ↓ | Tyndale's Translation, The Latin Vulgate, Pagninus's Latin Translation, Luther's German Version, Swiss-German Zürich Bible | | | |
| 1537 | Coverdale's Bible (2nd ed.) | Excluded Tyndale's contentious footnotes from the 1st edition, and included a gracious dedication to Henry VIII | | Matthew's Bible Coverdale's Bible (2nd ed.) * These Bibles did not gain complete acceptance among bishops. | Henry VIII licensed to print Coverdale's Bible |
| 1537 | Matthew's Bible | Tyndale's Incomplete OT, Coverdale's OT | Tyndale's NT | | Henry VIII licensed to print Matthew's Bible |
| 1539 | The Great Bible (1st ed.) (Cromwell's Bible) ↓ | Matthew's Bible | Tyndale's NT | The Great Bible | Henry VIII authorised the Great Bible |
| 1540 | The Great Bible (2nd ed.) (Cranmer's Bible) | Revised with reference to the Hebrew Original | Revised with reference to Erasmus's Latin Bible | | Henry VIII authorised the Great Bible |
| | | | | The Latin Vulgate | In 1546, it was forbidden to possess English Bibles, until Edward VI's succession |
| | | | | English Bibles such as Coverdale's Bible and the Great Bible | During the reign of Edward VI |
| | | | | The Latin Vulgate | During the reign of Mary I |
| 1557 | The Geneva Bible New Testament ↓ | | Tyndale's NT with reference to Beza's Latin NT | The Great Bible | |
| 1560 | The Geneva Bible | Revision of the Great Bible (1550), with reference to the Latin Bible of Sanctus Pagninus, the Hebrew-Latin Bible of Sebastian Münster, the Latin versions of the Hebraist Leo Juda and Sebastian Castellio, Pierre Robert Olivetan's French Bible, etc. | The 1557 Geneva Bible NT was revised with reference to Beza's Latin version | | Elizabeth I did not approve the Geneva Bible as an authorized Bible |
| 1568 | The Bishops' Bible | The Great Bible, The Geneva Bible | | The Great Bible The Bishops' Bible | Elizabeth I did not approve the Bishops' Bible as an authorised Bible |
| 1611 | The Autholized Version, also known as King James Version | Tyndale's Translation, Coverdale's Bible, the Geneva Bible, etc. | | The Autholized Version | James I commisioned the Authorized Version |